

DOUBT AS TO WHETHER VALERA HAS RESIGNED AS THE IRISH PRESIDENT

turies as one of the great Irish heroes," he declared.

Then Griffith arose and as soon as he was on his feet it was clear he would not join in bandying personalities.

"I cannot accept the invitation of the Minister of Defense," he said. "No man, no nation can repudiate his signature and live."

Then he sprang to a warm defense of Collins.

"This man won the war, and I say it again," he declared. "He is the man who made the present situation possible by working from 6 o'clock in the morning until 2 o'clock the next morning every day for three years. His indomitable energy and matchless courage carried Ireland through the crisis. If my name is to go down in history I want it to go down with that of Michael Collins."

Griffith Quotes De Valera.

Griffith's voice rang out clear and his head was poised high. He assumed a strange and a powerfully effective dignity. Then he proceeded with a cool argument for the treaty.

With never the slightest implication of bad faith on the other side, he quoted De Valera's letter to the British Prime Minister and his own statement in the Cabinet, asserting that he told the Cabinet he would go to London to try for a republic, but that he knew he could not get it.

"We are not republican doctrinaires," he quoted De Valera as saying, and then declared:

"We went to get the substance of freedom and we got it. We got freedom from the only real form of aggression—the occupation of Ireland by the troops of another country."

Then turning to the question of the oath, he riddled the stand taken by Erskine Childers and others by citing the oaths they had once taken to the British King as officers, judges and officials, and which they now repudiate.

"Damnable hypocrisy," he called their quibbling over the present oath. Then he proceeded to compare it with the allegiance provided in De Valera's substitute proposal, and declared the opposition to point out the real difference except in the terms used.

If a republic was the only settlement they could have reached in London, he declared, the London conference would have been over in five minutes, and then he revealed that De Valera's substitute proposal had been twice submitted to the Downing street conference and rejected.

"It is not an ideal treaty," he declared, "but it has this virtue which the substitute lacks—the name of the British Government is signed to it. It is a real treaty; the other is a dream. It is no more a finality than were the last members of the Irish race. But we can take that treaty with the British people, and in good faith with them we can work out our liberties through evolution and devotion."

"It is solid ground under the feet of the Irish people, who have been in the quaking bog for 300 years. Have we no duty to living Ireland? I believe the real duty of statesmanship is to give the Irish people of the present day a chance. Some say, 'Let the present Irish be wiped out as those of the past have been in order that those of the future may reap some benefit.' This treaty stands between the moldy dead of the past and the dreamy illusions of the future. This treaty provides for Ireland today. I will not consent that Ireland be sacrificed to save any one's face."

Then he made a ringing appeal to all Irishmen to join in making the settlement effective. He declared this was the undoubted wish of the Irish people, and, looking squarely across the hall, he defied De Valera's friends to deny this. And they did deny it vociferously, but Griffith persisted:

"You are doing what Pitt and Castlereagh did when they refused to permit the Irish Parliament to be dissolved and let the Irish people speak on the Act of Union."

Stands by the Republic.

DUBLIN, Jan. 7 (Associated Press).—On the announcement of the vote in the Dail Eireann, Mr. De Valera immediately rose and declared that the Irish people had established a republic, and until the Irish people in a regular manner disestablished the republic it constitutionally went on. This would be a sovereign body in the nation, to which the nation looked for supreme government. It was the executive until the people disestablished it.

Nobody was disposed to challenge this proposition, for the general opinion all along had been that during the transition period Ireland must keep her representative assembly until the treaty was converted into an act of Parliament, and the Irish would have an opportunity to erect a legislature of the Free State to replace the Dail.

Michael Collins in quiet tones followed De Valera. He said he did not regard the result in any spirit of triumph. He claimed that the men representing the Dail who would be responsible for taking over from the British Government control of the Irish administration should get a fair chance. In every country what mattered most was public order, and he appealed to the other side to appoint a joint committee of both sides to carry on the Government. (This was greeted with cheers.) Mr. Collins declared that President De Valera

Ratification Is Hailed By Sir Horace Plunkett

BATTLE CREEK, Mich., Jan. 7.—Ireland opened the way for the most interesting and perhaps the brightest chapter of her history through ratification by the Dail Eireann of the Anglo-Irish treaty, Sir Horace Plunkett, the Irish Conservative leader, declared to-night. The action of the Dail Eireann, Sir Horace said, was in accordance with the wishes of a majority of the Irish people. British terms, he declared, constituted a fair settlement, rejection of which would have been "madness."

held the same place in his heart as ever.

Then followed a violent speech by Mary MacSwiney, denouncing the result as worse than the betrayal of Ireland in the days of Castlereagh (Viscount Castlereagh, Marquis of Londonderry, who was Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1798 and was instrumental in carrying the union in 1800).

Mr. De Valera rose again, supposedly to reply to Mr. Collins's overture. However, he took no notice of it, and merely appealed to all his own supporters in the Dail to meet him at the Mansion House tomorrow afternoon at 1 o'clock.

This evidently hurt Mr. Collins very much, but he quietly said: "If the visible presence of myself and colleagues is so distasteful, there might at any rate be some accommodation between the parties for the purpose of public order." Minister Burgess immediately retorted: "I will take care that the discipline of the army is preserved."

The Assembly then separated, to meet at 11 o'clock Monday morning. No agenda for that session is indicated, and the only notice of a motion is one by the Speaker, Prof. McNeill affirming in general terms Ireland's independence and sovereignty status, for which all sections of the Dail might unanimously vote. The public is completely bewildered regarding De Valera's intentions.

Great Crowd on Hand.

The largest crowd that had yet gathered in front of the National University greeted the Deputies as they entered the building this afternoon to hold the concluding session. Much excitement attended the assembling of the members and every available foot of space in the press room adjoining the Dail chamber was filled with guests of the Deputies. A number of American visitors were present.

Minister of Defense Burgess began his speech against the treaty at 5 P. M. He was loudly applauded on rising. He spoke for several minutes in Gaelic before beginning his argument in English.

Burgess proceeded to defend Erskine Childers against attacks. He said Childers had done as much as any man and more than most men to arm the Irish people. Some thought the treaty would enable them to get arms. J. J. Walsh, he added, had in a speech in jail declared that he would be willing to take an oath any time if he could get arms thereby. "What, then, became of the pretense that the treaty would bring peace?"

As to the oath, which it was alleged, Mr. De Valera was willing to take, it had been submitted to the Cabinet, but there was no agreement, and it was dropped. The president had simply said that if nothing else stood in the way of a settlement he would be in favor of taking a certain oath.

Doubts People Want It.

It had been declared in the Dail by one of the deputies that South Kerry was unanimous for the treaty, but he had received letters from people who counted, and he could speak for young men, namely, two brigade commanders, and they were absolutely against the treaty.

Mr. Griffith in private session had asked him to repeat in public what he had said to Mr. Griffith on December 3, when the delegates were returning to London. Griffith had then declared he would not break on the question of the Crown, and he and Burgess had had a controversy over this matter. Griffith then asked him could his army undertake to drive Great Britain out of Ireland, and, of course, he replied it could not. But, he went on, it was absolutely unnecessary to be able to beat all of England's resources in order to maintain their independence. He (Burgess) objected to the oath in the treaty on the ground that it was an oath of allegiance to the King. He also objected to allowing England to defend the Irish coasts. If they had fired their last cartridge and had spent their last shilling, and their last man was on the ground, that man, if asked to join the British Empire, would say: "No; I will not."

He explained Mr. De Valera's alternative plan, which he likened to the plan of one business firm joining another for a specific purpose.

A firm did not sacrifice its individual independence by so doing. The Irish were prepared to recognize the British King as head of an association, they were in favor of common citizenship but reciprocal citizenship. They were prepared, said the Minister, to give England safeguards which would protect her from any attack by submarines, and they would not build submarines.

The only one of the delegates who really wanted the treaty, Mr. Burgess asserted, was Arthur Griffith. In 1917 at a Sinn Fein convention it took them

three nights to get Griffith to agree to a resolution for recognition of the Irish republic. If Griffith had not then agreed, he would not be in public life to-day. He did not abide by that, but had brought back a treaty and said the war was won.

The Sinn Fein movement could not have lived, continued Burgess, except that men like himself, who had spent years in preparing for Easter week, had agreed to come into it. He had been opposed to sending delegates to London because of the influence to which they would be subjected. The negotiations were maneuvers by Lloyd George to get the better of them. Lloyd George had tried terrorism, and when it failed, resorted to wiles. The Irish delegates had agreed to their instructions, which were that they should submit the matter to the Cabinet. They had been broken, for over a month before the treaty there were forty conferences confined to two of the five delegates, and that made him suspicious.

Challenge to Griffith.

He challenged Mr. Griffith why these conferences had been held and asked who arranged them, and Mr. Griffith replied that it was the British Government. Then he had asked who picked the two, Griffith and Collins, and the answer was, the British Government. The British Government knew these two men were the weakest of the team.

No wonder there was jubilation in England when the treaty was signed. He hoped the Dail would not consent. All the delegates who were his opponents had been achieved, and they need not vote for it at all.

Harry J. Boland explained that he had learned from the President that the minimum was external association. He thought when he heard of the treaty in America that the minimum had been achieved, and Ireland had come within the comity of nations. But when he saw the text of the treaty in the papers he knew that it was not so, and he opposed it.

At this point Mr. Collins interjected: "It won't do, Harry." At this Griffith then rose to finish the debate.

The Sinn Fein had stood down to allow John Redmond to get as much as possible in the home rule bill, because then the country could do no better. He had met the southern Unionists in these days, and his countrymen, and they should be fair play for everybody. He would meet the Ulster Unionists on the same basis. He declared his opponents were trying to reject the treaty without giving the Irish people a chance. He referred to Abraham Lincoln in his debate and said the American war was a civil war, and he would always consult the will of the people, not only those who elected him but those who opposed his election.

Repeatedly resuming repeated attempts to interrupt him during his address, Mr. Griffith cried:

"There is no power in this junta to intimidate me, to the more than Dublin Castle could."

There was an angry scene when Mr. Griffith said that they could not go on any platform in their constituencies and disapprove of the treaty. Where was self-determination? Hostility to the will of the people was as great as usurpation at Dublin Castle, and he added, emphatically, "my power will be used against it."

If the Dail rejected the treaty the Irish people would throw them out for incompetence. He would not agree to crucify the Irish people for a formula. He would have Ireland for the Irish, with a monarchy, if he could not have it with a republic.

De Valera Says People Will Judge. At the conclusion of Mr. Griffith's speech Mr. De Valera rose to say the Irish people would judge between the treaty, which left everything implied, and his document, which was explicit.

It was a case of Flood and Grattan over again. "I suppose the Irish volunteers are to be discarded next?" exclaimed De Valera. He announced that the republic would go on until the Irish people disestablished it.

Speeches by Harry Boland and Joseph McGrath of Dublin were features of the morning session, especially that of McGrath, who disclosed that Boland's last trip to the United States, according to Boland himself, was made at the initiative of Eamon de Valera to acquaint American sympathizers with the Irish cause and was to make her own law.

McGrath went into some details with regard to the help America had given Ireland in her struggle. In going into this subject Boland remarked that Michael Collins had been a great help to Ireland, and that he had placed him (Boland) in an embarrassing position.

Collins interrupted the speaker at this point to remark: "And which every true American appreciates."

Boland added that the bulk of the American people favored the treaty, and that he did the American press, like the Irish press.

Was this treaty a final settlement? Boland asked.

Following Boland, Joseph McGrath, who is in close touch with the labor movement, said he had done his best in Easter week, 1916, but knew they wouldn't get a republic. He was now five years older than he had expected to be, he remarked amid laughter.

McGrath argued that Eamon de Valera's document, even if it were accepted by the British, would not end the matter or help the republican program.

De Valera Explanation.

Mr. De Valera rose and protested against McGrath's reference to a document which its author had been prevented from explaining. It was at this point that McGrath made his revelation as to Boland's mission to America. He was a courier to Prime Minister Lloyd George, together with Boland, when Mr. Lloyd George was in Scotland, he recalled, and on that occasion Boland had said to him: "If I am going back to America on the President's instructions to do an awful thing—to prepare the people of America for something less than a republic."

Rising at this Mr. De Valera said that in the interest of the nation he could not let that pass. The only chance he saw, except by force of arms, of getting a republic was the plan of external association, he explained, and he had pointed out indignantly that this was less than an isolated republic.

IRELAND'S STRUGGLE COVERS CENTURIES

Nation Has Fought the British Crown Since Days of Henry VIII.

7 DISTINCT UPRISINGS

Conflicts Had Religious Base in Antipathy of Protestants and Catholics.

GAINS AT EVERY EFFORT

Sinn Fein, Aided by English Labor Party, Finally Wins Freedom.

To get as near to absolute freedom as she has, Ireland has fought the British crown since the days the misguiding Henry VIII. sought to rout the Roman Catholic church from the island and substitute the Protestant. This warfare has continued without long interruption, for even when prone and starving, unable to fire a pistol or lift a fist, Ireland has fought for independence.

It started even further back than Henry, who, after all, merely brought to a head the festering hate that had its inception in the rivalry between the Irish kings and the feudal barons who came from the Continent. By way of marking epochs in Ireland's fight for freedom seven definite uprisings might be cited. There were others—many others, to be sure, but these seven stand out.

First there was the Shane O'Neill rebellion in 1561. That collapsed when O'Neill was killed in 1567. Then the Geraldine rebellion that came to nothing in 1583. Again the O'Neills sounded the call to arms in 1595, and there was fighting more or less continuously for seven years. In 1641 Roger Moore and Owen Roe O'Neill led the rebellion, and the warfare continued until Oliver Cromwell became England's dictator.

Charles the Second sought to drive the Catholics out of Ireland, and there was great misery in the island until James II. fled to France in 1690, and a relief as he was able to afford valiantly when he abdicated. Ireland joined him and fought valiantly against the Crown. Even after the Battle of the Boyne in 1702.

In 1798, at Wexford, Father Murphy set forth with his small, inspired band, only to die on the scaffold. And then came the Fenian uprising of 1865, lasting until 1868.

Something Gained Each Time. Every one of these successive rebellions gained something. Every one was rewarded by some success, despite the fate of the leaders thereof.

Finally, on April 25, 1916, the new Irish party (Sinn Fein) was born. It was a party that was engaged in a death struggle with the embattled island that had been working up to this point since 1641, when Henry announced himself King instead of Lord of Ireland.

Incident to these seven specified outbreaks against English rule there were numerous smaller ones. The act of rebellion was more or less of a farce, inasmuch as the peasantry had been reduced to beggary. The great Irish Parliament was called for the first time in 1801, and the new law was passed. Then came the Pitt plan in 1801 and the rise of Daniel O'Connell. Little by little the English grip was slipping, and Ireland was getting set for the final battle. She reached the depths of degradation, however, when the great famine of 1845-46 opened upon her. Two million of her inhabitants starved to death. Four millions fled to America.

After Famine, Home Rule. But the famine marked the low point; after it came the rebound. The corn laws resulted from the famine. Wheat was plentiful and the price fell. Free trade. Ireland grew in strength. Out of this strength came the Fenians, father of Sinn Fein, and out of the Fenian rebellion came Gladstone's first home rule bill and the land purchasing act, whereby Irishmen might obtain Irish soil by purchase. This was a long step forward.

The home rule bill was rejected by London. So was Mr. Gladstone's second measure in 1893. The inadequate land purchase act was made more sincere and liberal in 1905, when the restoration of the land to the people was seriously undertaken for the first time.

Next came Asquith's home rule bill of 1914 and the coming of Carson and his 100,000 Ulster volunteers. They said that the passage of the Asquith measure meant that they would fight south Ireland to the death rather than take the domination by the Catholics. Again the old religious war, except that now the Catholics were no longer browbeaten or legally shamed.

At last they were able to stand in court or on the streets the equal of the Protestant. And the Protestant clergy of Ulster began to warn its congregations of the coming uprising of Catholics. The Catholics had suffered long, they said. Permit home rule, and expect fearful reprisals!

The world was roused, and with it the new Sinn Fein party—a lustier, younger and more numerous party than ever had menaced the Crown.

Yesterday's acceptance of the peace treaty and the establishment of the Irish Free State came out of the Sinn Fein uprising just as the Sinn Fein issued from the progressive uprisings

LET US UNITE FOR IRELAND. IS MESSAGE FROM COLLINS

DUBLIN, Jan. 7.—"THE NEW YORK HERALD can say to America for me that I do not regard the victory to-day as a triumph over the other side," said Michael Collins after the meeting at the Gresham Hotel here to-night, when Mr. Collins and Arthur Griffith were the centre of a joyous celebration.

"We should all unite to preserve the public safety," he continued. "There will be time to stress the new arrangement. We must carefully take over the machinery of the Government from the late enemy. I made a public promise in the Dail Eireann to-night that the Irish nation will still get the best I have. Now I make that promise to the world. My personal admiration and devotion to President De Valera is just as strong as ever."

An official of Dublin Castle told the correspondent that the British Government would take the first opportunity of impressing the Irish nation of its sincerity by removing the British troops from Ireland.

"They will go with colors flying and bands playing, so that all Ireland will know they're off," he said.

TERMS OF TREATY SETTING UP THE IRISH FREE STATE

By the Associated Press.

Creation of the Irish Free State is provided for in the treaty signed last month in London. Its provisions in substance are:

Creation of the Irish Free State is provided for in the treaty signed last month in London. Its provisions in substance are: Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa.

Ireland shall be known officially as the Irish Free State, with a Parliament having powers for the government of the country and an Executive responsible to that Parliament.

A provisional government is to be set up, to function until an Irish Parliament and a government of the Irish Free State shall be constituted, but not longer than twelve months at the outside.

The treaty stipulates that a representative of the Crown shall be appointed for Ireland in the same manner as the Governor-General of Canada.

Ireland is given control over all governmental affairs and is entitled to an army, which shall, however, not be larger in proportion to Ireland's population than the British forces in the United Kingdom.

Ulster is included within the scope of the treaty, but provision is made for her to declare herself out within

three months. Sir Roger Casement, afterward hanged as a traitor, returned from Germany with the news that instigated the Easter rising of 1916. Padraic P. Walsh, a member of the new republic, the ensuing campaign lasted until April 28, 1916, when British troops were withdrawn into Ireland.

England cried aloud that the uprising was German born; that Ireland was fighting the enemies of the Kaiser. Ireland repudiated the charge, and Ireland was privileged to fight for the cause of anything that fetched her nearer her goal—Independence. Pearse was executed along with a half a dozen other leaders and Eamon de Valera was elected President of the Irish Republic.

Repression Fails.

Orders of repression issued by London choked the general uprising into mere guerrilla warfare which, it so developed, was deadlier and more brutal than any preceding open conflict had been. The British and the Irish fought by both sides. Whole towns were burned and, if Ireland needed an ultimate urging, it was supplied by the Black and Tans, who were sent to Ireland in 1920 to suppress the rebellion.

This act created a parliament for Ulster and another for South Ireland, with a council composed of delegates of both. The central idea was to thus get both Parliaments into unity and eventually united. But again the old religious question interposed. The bulk of Ireland's commercial wealth was in Protestant Ulster. The majority of the population of South Ireland was Catholic. The Ulster Unionists, who were accepted the proposition and in due time her Parliament was opened by King George, whose incidental speech gave Premier Lloyd George an opportunity to call to London the Sinn Fein delegates, who ultimately signed the peace treaty adopted yesterday by the Dail Eireann.

South Ireland (having created its own Parliament—the Dail Eireann)—without regard for the new government law, gave notice that she would have nothing to do with the Irish people. The Sinn Fein delegates, who were accepted the proposition and in due time her Parliament was opened by King George, whose incidental speech gave Premier Lloyd George an opportunity to call to London the Sinn Fein delegates, who ultimately signed the peace treaty adopted yesterday by the Dail Eireann.

Thus stood affairs, punctured by murder and reprisal, until King George made his excellent speech in Belfast on the occasion of the opening of the United Kingdom Parliament. In vain had Great Britain threatened the south of Ireland. Sinn Fein was given a certain length of time in which to come to terms with the new government bill. If she failed England would establish crown rule south of Ulster, and that meant little else than martial law. "Establish crown rule," replied Sinn Fein, "we're used to it."

To use an American poker term, Sinn Fein, knowing it held the winning hand, stood pat. The Labor party in England, having ascended to a position where it amounted to holding the balance of power, insisted that the British Parliament make further concessions. The last word was spoken by King George in Belfast on June 22, 1921, when he appealed to Ireland for peace.

Lloyd George grasped his chance. He called upon De Valera and Sir James Craig, the Ulster Unionist leader, to confer with him in Downing Street. Then Sinn Fein agreed to an armistice pending the outcome of the policy.

Subsequent history needs scant mention. The end has followed every move. The chances of getting De Valera and Craig together on anything like an amicable understanding became more and more remote and the world beheld them bolting the conference in turn.

It resulted in the calling to London of the Sinn Fein delegation—Arthur Griffith, Michael Collins, Robert C. Barton, Eamon J. Duggan and George Gavan Duffy—who on December 6 signed the treaty ratified yesterday by the Dail. For Great Britain the treaty was signed by Lloyd George, Austen Chamberlain, Lord Birkenhead, Winston Churchill, Worthington-Evans, Gordon Hewart and Hamar Greenwood.

IRELAND'S DECISION MEETS PRAISE HERE

Bryan L. Kennelly Glad Irish Free State Is at Last a Reality.

Bryan L. Kennelly, president of Bryan L. Kennelly, Inc., and vice-president of the Harriman National Bank, said yesterday that the ratification by the Dail Eireann of the Irish peace treaty was one of the most happy occurrences in history.

"I am glad the Irish people have spoken as they have," said Mr. Kennelly, "and thus made the Irish Free State at last a reality. They alone knew what they wanted and what was best for them and now that they have spoken the world must accept their decision as final and not to be generally commended. The clergy, as well as the great majority of the Irish people through their associations, societies, clubs and business and social organizations, concluded that the pact signed by the members of the Irish Cabinet in London should be upheld, and their open declaration that they would support the form of definite expression of the will of the whole nation directly along the lines of what I heard expressed during the past few days in the Dail Eireann last August."

"The Irish people's verdict is in keeping with the new spirit of the day—the spirit of sanity and of wise and clean diplomacy. It probably will mean the end of warfare in Ireland for all time and the ultimate eradication of old animosities."

"All those Americans genuinely interested in the future peace, happiness and prosperity of the Irish people, who render no greater service than by bending their efforts to encourage them to develop the industry and commerce of Ireland and by leading their own people, at least, toward the advancement of art, science, literature and education in Ireland."

Diarmid Lynch, national secretary of the Friends of Irish Freedom, when informed of the ratification of the treaty said:

"I desire on behalf of the friends of Irish freedom to state officially that the ratification of this organization is as follows: 'Expressly disavowing the intention to interfere with or dictate the decisions of the people of Ireland, the Friends of Irish Freedom, in the form of Government under which they may live, we retain as American citizens our unalterable faith in the republican institutions of liberty as established in the United States.'

"Our belief remains unchanged and unchangeable in the blessings to accrue from the establishment in all lands of a system of government that respects the Government of the United States, and we pledge to such republican party in Ireland as may carry forward the traditional struggle for liberty."

"In full measure of the hearty support which we have given in the past. Our position as thus expressed was unanimously endorsed by 2,500 delegates assembled in convention less than a month ago."

"Even if the Irish Republic be now abandoned by a majority of the present spokesmen for the Irish people, we of Irish blood refuse to accept for our race a position of subservience to any other race on earth."

The Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., writer, said: "The Dail ratification of the treaty between England and Ireland is a triumph for the new method of settling disputes. It is evidence from the Irish side of government which they may live, we retain as American citizens our unalterable faith in the republican institutions of liberty as established in the United States."

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Sennan McManus said: "It is not a treaty but a truce forced upon an exhausted Ireland with a Lewis gun at the throat of the Irish people. England has only granted this truce after she had exhausted every diabolical means for crushing out Ireland's life. To humbly grant half freedom to three quarters of the Irish State and then nickname it the Irish State is a cruel joke of humanity's friend—Lloyd George."

"The end is not yet."

LONDON AND DUBLIN DOUBT RESIGNATION

Exact Words of De Valera Raise Question of His Meaning.

DUBLIN, Jan. 7 (Associated Press).—Whether Eamon de Valera has actually resigned as President of the Irish Republic is a question that has arisen in the minds of those who witnessed the taking of the vote on the peace treaty in the Dail Eireann and the subsequent proceedings.

While it was generally understood that his resignation had been announced when the excitement incident to the last moments of the session had died down there were some who called attention to the exact words of Mr. De Valera. Upon the announcement of the vote on the treaty, the President rose and said: "It will be, of course, my duty to resign. I don't know if I will do it just now, but I have to say to the country and to the world that the Irish people have an established republic which can be disestablished by the Irish people only. Until the Irish people in the regular manner disestablish the republic this constitution goes on, whatever arguments are made."

This is the supreme sovereign body in the nation. This is the body that the nation looks for the supreme government, and it must remain, no matter who is the executive, until the Irish nation disestablishes it."

London, Jan. 8 (Associated Press).—Although a majority of the Sunday papers announced De Valera's resignation, it is evident from the text of his speech that he merely said it would be his duty to resign, and the Dublin public's bewilderment respecting De Valera's intentions is shared in the London editorial rooms. The confusion is likely to continue at least until De Valera's supporters meet.

Outstanding in the dramatic close of the Dail's session is the fact that the agreement was ratified. The Sunday Times says that Ireland to-day, to all intents and purposes, is a free State, with her destinies in her own hands, and De Valera "presumably has ceased to be President of a non-existent republic."

By the terms of Article 17 of the ratified agreement, continues the paper, it is now the duty of the leaders of the republic to construct a provisional government, of which no doubt Griffith and Collins will be the heads. It is equally the duty of the Imperial authorities to consent to the transfer of all necessary powers to the new Executive.

Before a week, the paper concludes, a free Irish Government will be at work and the strife of centuries should be closed.

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